that mobile warfare and the increasing dependence upon loot in the form of livestock and war captives led to a degree of nomadism and a band type of organization, with the war chief guiding the movements of several villages. Although the *unati* and their relatives remained the class of highest rank, they state that the war chief was the individual of highest rank; this would appear to support the assumption that once raiding became important, the mobile band also became important much after the pattern of the Mbayá who were organized into bands. Yet the Terena never quite gave up their dependence upon agriculture and appear to have planted crops whenever possible. When we first hear of the Terena in the accounts of Sánchez Labrador in the year 1767, they, along with their Chaná brethren, were agriculturists settled near the Apá tributary of the Paraguay River. Just prior to their movement to their present location in 1845, they had moved near the present site of Corumbá, 300 km. to the north. This fact, therefore, also seems to add evidence to the assumption that the horse inaugurated a nomadic type of life.

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LAW

The law-enforcing group was the extended family. If a man committed murder the relatives of the murdered man would try to kill the murderer in revenge. By custom, only 1 day was allowed for retaliation. If the murderer escaped to his own relatives and an attempt was made to kill him a feud would follow. To avoid this, custom demanded that the murderer be placed in the forefront in the next raid. If he succeeded in killing an enemy, the crime would be expiated. If he did not succeed, he would have to continue until he killed an enemy or was killed himself. This rule applied to members of all classes. It is said that the relatives of the murdered man saw to it that the murderer had little chance of avoiding death at the hands of the enemy.

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If a man caught another in the act of adultery with his wife, he could kill the man, which would settle the matter. He could kill his wife also, but he usually contented himself by beating her. But if the adulterer killed the husband it, also, was not considered murder, as he was defending his life. This, however, brought shame to the husbands

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family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family. 684 [682]

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property. 685

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death. 683 756

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle. 674 182

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side. 602 [614] [616]

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. These two terms are *onjo* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother. 601

fences, and provides them with credit if they wish 177
to buy oxen, horses, saddles, and other equipment 554
beyond their immediate capacity to pay. On the 648
other hand, if the men are drunkards and shirk their duties to their families and the Post, they are required to work and receive not money but credit for food and clothing at a certain store in the nearby town of Taunay. It follows from this that the manager has close friends and also enemies. The present manager of Bananal claims that he has an armed Indian bodyguard to protect him from Indians who hate him for enforcing Indian Service regulations. How much of this is really due to specific Indian ill will or to the prevalent custom in Mato Grosso of important men having bodyguards is not quite certain. At least we can say that social status or the lack of status is closely connected with the manager of the Post.

The other contact agent and molding force 177
among the Terena is the Protestant mission sta- 797
tion. The activities of the missionaries go far beyond the inculcation of Protestant religious doctrine. Besides religious teaching the missionaries supervise the moral behavior of their followers. Smoking, drinking, dancing, and sex irregularities are prohibited, and the breaking of these rules results in a loss of status, and of economic, medical, and educational assistance. The son of the present chief who had caused the pregnancy of a girl in the village was asked by the missionaries to marry the girl. For one reason or another the chief's son refused to do so. The Protestant missionaries were powerful enough to have the man exiled from [684] the village. This caused considerable disturbance among the Indians, as neither the Indians nor the Brazilians take the same view of the unmarried mother as do the American Protestant missionaries. On the writer's last visit to Bananal both the chief and his son had withdrawn from the settlement and were living in a nearby town, at least temporarily. Actually this matter had repercussions on higher levels, for the Indian Service [648] closed the Protestant school for some months. This event reveals the power and importance of the Protestant missionaries in influencing life in the village. Conformity to the Protestant way of life is customarily achieved through economic and medical rewards, and it does seem true that the Protestant Indians have better and cleaner houses and are educationally more advanced. Yet, it is

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances.

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs.

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church.